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INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a
Yokuts culture which differed in many respects
from that of the foothill and hill people. The
divergence was not merely that due to a funda-
mentally different ecological background; it
was manifest also in their dichotomous social
organization and ceremonial practices. The
lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts
of Kings River and northward, and with the
Wowol to the south rather than toward the east-
ward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations
of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,²³
and to his information we have little to add.
Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from
childhood scenes, was unable to formulate pre-
cise information on her native village region.
The need for two interpreters to translate her
conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to
English) did not add clarity. The Chunut in-
formant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was
unclear on local topography, whereas her
knowledge of names and locations of distant
tribes was remarkably accurate. The informa-
tion obtained from these two women has been
added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local
Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp
609 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights,
existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes
living north of Kings River, known collectively
to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho'sima, northerners).
The Mutunutu, as the nearest of these, were
specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people
attempted to come into Tachi territory for
seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and
made them go back." The Chunut did not fight
the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut in-
formant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
436 the groups bordering on the lake, but particu-
larly with the Wowol who came as far north as
the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied
the balsas to tules and slept on them at night.
The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded
shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the
shells from the To'kya (Salinan), who lived at
Cu'lama,²⁴ near the ocean, and far west and

²³Handbook, 474-486.

²⁴A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary
of the Salinas River.

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342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek (Choinimni territory).³³

342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." 554 The long house made possible the practice of 622 patrilocality residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills). [184] [591]

343 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 The subsistence of the tular region was 262 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats [825] (8. mōm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.³⁴

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her people with a circumstantial story,³⁵ and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills. [184]

³³Letta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

³⁴Ibid., 33.

³⁵Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

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526 The pole and stick game (aiki'w:č) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

616 The pole and tossed hoop game (hole'w:č) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyt and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last (celebration) day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.³⁰ This she called k'a'nal (she gave aiki'w:č as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai'iwan) or another straight willow (sala'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai'yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape³¹ was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno'lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweat-house" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

³⁰Gayton and Newman, 17.

³¹Inferment was uncertain of ball's construction.

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136 of the dead. The following birds were named
 825 without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu'-
 klas); Steller's jay (tikai'ya [sic]); Cali-
 fornia jay (tai'tai); hummingbird (general)
 (nahə'tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo-
 k'ets); California woodpecker (tiwe'sa); Cali-
 fornia [Valley] quail (saka'la) were scarce in
 old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker
 [Flicker] (pala'tat); great blue heron (wa'hat);
 northern shrike (pe'lpil); western mockingbird
 (tikai'ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird
 (tolo'heno); pelican (ha'hail); Cooper's hawk
 (po'hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka'ka);
 crow (ka'nkas); raven (ho'toi); sandhill crane
 (u'lats); prairie falcon (li'mak); chicken hawk
 (sp. ?) (su'hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to'hil).

The following were not identified but were
 described with considerable accuracy by J.A.;
 dubious descriptions are given with the in-
 formant's own words. Flies in general (mo'nai),
 housefly (pisa'tna), blowfly (ka'msal). Hornet

● [184] (?) (mi'nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
 262 the nests with larvae but know Choiniani, Wuk-
 chummi, and other foothill people did. The
 ground wasp (po'ao'nai) "is mean, lives in the
 ground, makes no honey and just raises young
 ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
 [262] coals, a dish called tap'si, which was eaten
 with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo'k'o)
 was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'
 ha'lu). Small moths (a'nt'sa) and a "night"
 moth (toino'n ant'sa) were distinguished,
 while a very large spotted moth was called
 "eats dead people" (tapahe ta'ats) and liter-
 ally was believed to do so. Butterflies in
 general (woge'ki); the Monarch butterfly was
 called metaphorically "big bee" (matek lo'k'o),
 and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively
 "little white butterfly" (tso'lol witsa'ha
 wogeki). Dragonflies (isló'li), mosquitoes
 (kas'ho'p), a black beetle (te'til), and the
 water weaver (soi'yol?) were mentioned by J.A.
 Small ants, either red or black, were called
 by the same name (ke'nits); tree ants (ha'sa)
 "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which
 made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e'nts
 ken:ts).²⁸

The tarantula (tu'muñ) was "a widow a long
 time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was
 called "bear" (noho'o). J.A. does not think
 they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans
 sometimes make them fight." A large white
 spider (ko'lol k:lwai) makes a web (otsti'ho)
 "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[192] ²⁸J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
 828 there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times.
 Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk,
 etc., were called both loco and alete'nts by the other
 Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible,
 "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A.
 insisted that alete'nts is not a native word, but I can
 find no Spanish source for it.

[P. 29a]

616 distantly related called each other yoko 'tən:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noč'i n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a 'tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma 'kš'i) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 Redemption of totem animal.--- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa 'lunuts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

[231] 184 A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

[779] Bears were not redeemed. [231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

[P. 396] Chumut

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about
two weeks and then he died." He became swollen
and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo,
took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the
back of his head. He was thought to have ob-
served all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance,
principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
around the injury and a poultice of cooked,
276 mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it
to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right
clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A
large poultice was applied all over his shoul-
der, and he was cured.

752 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928)
W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during
the night. He opened and closed both the back
door and the front. She could hear him walking
about softly in the kitchen. She called to him,
asked him what he wanted, said she would help
him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer.
The next day a woman told her to cook some jim-
sonweed in the house to drive away the ghost.
But J.A. had been eating meat and handling
greasy things, so she did not want to touch any
jimsonweed.

Chumut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi'k, who
756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe,
825 not the Nutumutu, lived."

Toi'k got two or three snakes which he
kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They
were starved for six days. Then he put the
snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them
and picked them up and put them around his neck
"to show that he was not afraid of them"; but
he did not let them bite him. Everybody
watched him; he was not paid (sic). There were
singers there, too. There was some purpose in
this to keep people from being bitten by rattle-
snakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toi'k could "make any snake bite any
person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and
never did this. The snake ritual was called
le 'alawa, the handling, dai was or tatis was.

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[154] The Bear Dance was made by the people of
the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake
tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by
J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall
the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutumutu in
mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

[P. 41a] Chumut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing,¹ people who had long illnesses would be brought in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.¹⁰¹

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chumut fits with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

[75b] This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and gu), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho 'ot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

536 Pleasure dances (ha'tim) were frequently held. A chief might give such little parties (again referred to as lonu'witi) at his house. 517 His wife and female relatives prepared 574 quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[53b]

¹⁰¹ No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

2 (i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chumut

[P. 64 a]

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the
285 lake peoples.¹⁵⁴

342 The oval house was also frequently built
in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at
the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this
form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod
though they did not reach the extreme dimen-
sions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts
were erected and a ridgepole laid between them.
Side and end poles with pliable tips were
braced in the ground at the periphery of the
floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to
which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with
the conical house, horizontal side braces were
lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched
but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

These were tied to the framework and, in ex-
pectation of stormy weather, were bound down by
a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was
left, the smoke merely escaping through the
rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole.
[184] The oval house of the Central Foothills was not
usually divided into compartments as it was in
the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in
size than the thatched or mat-covered type.
Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark
house may serve here, as this structure was not
well known to Wukchumni informants.¹⁵⁵

A bark house of similar type (conical) is
called gashih. Sometimes bark is first leaned
against the framework as a partial covering,

¹⁵⁴ Handbook, 521, 522.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 522.

[P. 86 b]

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a 'nep), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono 'h:8). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail top-knot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

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285 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.²⁰¹ This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

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335 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used exclusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated cradle by ethnographers,²⁰² functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

²⁰¹Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

²⁰²Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

[P. 97b] Wukchumni

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[683] Shaman-killer---The person designated by this term (hi'au ta) was in no sense a clown,²³² and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'au ta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'au ta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'au ta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'au ta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'au ta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'au ta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi'au ta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

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[684] Clown---There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clownned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

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[684] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

²³²Kroeber was informed that the hi'au ta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.).

[P. 122 a] Wukchumni

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533

koko 'čō, koko 'čō, koko 'čō
[a very large fish]

tapa 'psu, tapa 'psu, tapa 'psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha 'ho-'ho-', ha 'ho-'ho-', ha 'ho-'ho-'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja 'amu añtu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river (Kaweah). As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta'kit, minnow?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.²⁷¹ His description of the rite is as follows:

...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

²⁷¹Ibid., 507.

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

769 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
535 at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
and Lemon Cove (that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
Wukchumni). It was danced in the afternoon to-
ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday.
The most noted Huhuna dancer was Camčusan, a
Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho't:s was also a
Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long
feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of
abalone shells (t'u'dtud) fastened over his eyes
(on the net headgear, presumably). Under his
left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the
money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of
money-finding, his winatum would tell him he
was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this
task was usually Cokon:k, although J.B. had
seen Ma'm:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The
shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked
Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him
aside, then the shaman would restore him. For
this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were
paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
mony the burning of images took place. This
was called ahana n:t. Only the hosts took part;
the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in
the center of the dance space. The chief,

[48] mourning families, and others proceeded around
it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping
high and stamping. Women of the mourning
families carried the effigies of the dead
(woi'dow:š) while both men and women carried
long poles to which were affixed baskets and
beads for the visitors. The poles were carried

[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the
mouth to produce a long ululation, long and
doleful rather than staccato, and the poles
were waved in the air. At the end of the
second circuit of the fire the mourners cast
the effigies on the fire. At the same time the
poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled
for the money and treasures; this part of the
ritual was called ka m:ts. This custom of

• [184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni,
Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas
the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western
Mono) kept the poles until the time of the
ritual washing when the gifts were presented to
the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to Joi'joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.²² "He went
[text continues on p. 133]

²²The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts
and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton,
Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 133b] Wukchamni
CHUKAIMINA

668 The dance was called soto: 'towid kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
535 women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from en-
circling camps provided light. Singers wear-
ing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at
one side. They used no instruments. (J.B.
thought "some people to the north used clappers
and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.")
The singers were not paid, but their food and
fire were provided by winatums from various
visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all
used red and white face paint.²⁶⁵ Red paint was
not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night.
During interludes of rest Mosuñ made speeches.
He said, "God made all this land. The dead
people are coming if we dance this dance. They
dance this dance all the time where they [the
dead] are now."

[242] At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went
to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
or played games. There was no abstinence from
meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on
one occasion some dogs were killed "because
their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsal]."
The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

• [184] The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and
Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that
all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
came down and sang songs about the annihilation
of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[Continued from p. 133a - Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai
claims were said to run west and southward
from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge
with Wakaachi in the Murphy Creek region. The
following localities P.M. pointed out from the
height of his hilltop and I later identified
them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quad-
rangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai
361 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
103

1. tolsi 'hao (Michahai)
2. takša myu (Michahai)
3. buči 'h'ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o to
5. bo 'kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto no: site of present Squaw Valley
grocery store

²⁶⁵See ibid., fig. 2, b.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and
553 was washed at a little ceremony called *tesa'taš*
(*"means not to sleep any more," Mo.*). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.²⁸⁶ The first (*bi''ē*) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (*aki'lē*) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. [17] [85] [184] said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.---All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method and said the ware was fired about two days.²⁸⁷ [362] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.---A.M. described the women's dice game (*hucu'ša*). The pieces used

²⁸⁶Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

²⁸⁷For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

EP. 146 a] Choinum

- 343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets
there, and food which was stored for immanent
use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of alac tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.⁷

- 343 Sweat house (mos).---This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central
Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

- 262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens, bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns,
262 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

[H2] Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

⁷Mayfield describes a similar granary (1914., 23).

[P. 152 a] Choinimni

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day, 783 the ritual washing (pla'ó'ísa) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by 535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather 184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment after the washing ritual.

Guksai.---This informant had never heard the word gu ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 Bear Dance.---As described by P.D.W. this 535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko'wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear was going to come out." Most positively,

796 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done 535 in the fall of the year and that, if requested, 424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

[P. 157b] DANA

755

Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

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789

[189]

Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipeč), Tewus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756

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B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka'na-ha' (water)
(repeated six times)

te-pin i te'i (t:pin)

[P. 158 b] DUMMA

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
276 the decoction they ceased eating and drinking
entirely. Then when they drank, "one little
basketful was enough." Women relatives ad-
ministered the drink and watched over the sleep-
ing partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s
sister did this for him. There was "some kind
of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could
not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row
to receive the drink. The drink was consumed
in the evening, and by morning was in full
operation. Then the drinker "could see every-
thing, far away, and everywhere." He could
see sickness on other people and this he would
blow (not brush) off them.

[752
● 187] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed
as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for frac-
tures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-
jumping in connection with the jimsonweed
ritual.

796 Snake ritual.---"No one up this way made it;
Co'kon:k and Pu:l:l:n are the only ones did it."
(See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned
from a stay of four months in the Madera hospi-
tal. Soon after he was taken there he had a
dream or vision which he regarded as an actual
experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed.
It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.
It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a
[heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his
face three times. A hospital attendant asked
B.W. if it were his, but he said no.⁴³ They
offered the animal some crackers to eat, which
it refused. It was taken outside and there it
lay down on the steps; by evening it had dis-
appeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood
beside the bed. B.W. said he was always think-
ing of God, and for this the missionary com-
mended him. When Missionary X left he offered
B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really
only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just
grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not
see plainly because the big dog was there and
was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his
eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had
given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every
one of his dead relatives; he saw his father
and his brothers and sister. They were all
beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all
over their clothes. All the country was green.

⁴³There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky
and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

⁴⁴B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which
he still had at the time of my visit.

[P. 161 b] Kechayi

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. [497] No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a'sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. [887] In this condition it was called šo'gen. The fine tobacco, pulč'i'na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

[184] The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke'wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

[787] Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta'okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [758] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [204] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

[P. 172 b] Kechayi

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
335 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (sonil) (fig. 8, b, Pt. I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side
dancing, each with a woman directly behind him.
Then the six men filed in and danced around the
fire, the doctors and women remaining in one
place near it. The men used the "piston-rod"
step, the women a hop with feet placed close
together. The songs for this dance were from
[533] a special cycle which was not used on other oc-
casions, but what they were about E.M. could
not say.

535 Sweat house dance.---This dance (mosla'os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in
756 the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in
the nature of the performance inside and out.
"The dance was started inside and then went
outside where everyone could see because Eagle
told the dancers they must dance indoors be-
fore going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This
dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female
dancers who might be of either moiety. The
women were Si'lat and Wajilat (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual
breachclout and deerskin apron, the dancers
wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped
around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white
stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers
had red faces with black spots, and a black
area all around the mouth. Men and women were
painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start
in the sweat house were the women participants.
People crowded around, not all could get in,
and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.---This dance was called no''n
796 ka'ma. Two Kechayi (Dumna?) brothers, Go'hil
and Te'e'wus, had power from Bear (noho'in
tipni). They were not regarded as doctors,
just men with a specific kind of supernatural
power. Their dance was obviously comparable
in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni
[184] Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling
display and in its lack of relation to the
acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear
would tell the dancer to go far back in the
mountains. There two bears would come to him
during the night and hug him to protect him
from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights
and danced by himself. Then when he came in he
danced publicly at night. Later the informant

EP. 173 b] Kechayi

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 Snake ritual.---This was not performed
796 north of Kings River: "the best doctors were
751 always that way [south]. But in spring every-
one were an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-
gathering; this made the snakes rattle while
still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ša) of drinking jimson-
weed (tañai) was held each spring by the
796 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimson-
weed herself but had seen it administered at
Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi
man named Hoi'yop (lupine). After consultation
with the village chief, the date for the ritual
was publicly announced. The announcement had
to be made at least twelve days in advance,
during which time prospective participants as-
sumed a liquid diet (seed or acorn soup). The
drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age,
of both sexes. While the ritual was given in
the early spring of each year, only rarely did
a person participate annually. The ultimate
purpose was "to have good health," but it is
unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the im-
mediate aim, which we can only presume from
other information was to obtain a helping
spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the partici-
pants left home and were housed in the homes
of relatives living some distance away. They
[292] all wore "koikoi belts"⁷⁴ which they tightened
up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drink-
ers assembled outside the village, where they
were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of
jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran
once around the village (they did not jump over
a hoop). The leader then went to the usual as-
sembling spot for the village; as he approached
he sang and talked saying that "č:pní is coming."
There he mashed up the plants in a large basket
and poured water over them. The drinkers were
arriving also, each with a woman singer follow-
ing. The spokesman (yate'č) was present: he
[554] told them to come closer to the central basket;
when the drink was ready, he pointed out the
order in which it was to be administered, who
was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone
present sat down. Then the leader filled small
baskets with the decoction and gave one to each
participant. He sang continuously. At his
signal all drank: there was no "delayed offer-
ing" of the drink. Usually the effects were
felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

⁷⁴A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

[CP. 176 a] Chuckchansi

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222

For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.⁸⁰

[484]

[438]

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351

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the Indians throughout this region set fire to the brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out (with what?). "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily; however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".⁸¹ The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361
184

Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. (Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village." in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.-- A.H.G.)

⁸⁰Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174]

⁸¹The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

[P. 180 b] Chuckchausi

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and
carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket
tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching.
Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pound-
ed in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being
rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment
to acorn mush.

[222
481] According to M.W., when pine nuts were
wanted, they climbed the trees and twisted them
off; today, they cut them off with a rock [sic].
Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach,
shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones
were set on the fire to burn off the pitch.
Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out
the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end;
those black all over are "no good." The nuts
[284
286] were kept in sacks made of milkweed string.
They were shelled as needed, eaten directly,
or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with
acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine
nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at
the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray
squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and
cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer,
said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes,
were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others
thought bear "too human." "He lies down just
like a man when he is dead, has breath like a
man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate
men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this,
was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi
attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of
eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog.
[185] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley
Yokuts ate dog meat.³⁰ Elk was not eaten by
Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was
buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men
would go to the valley. They made a gear of
wood³¹ which was put on a horse's nose. Then
the captor would jump on its back, without
saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here.
Some people kept horses to ride; others, after
getting them here, shot them through the heart
with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never
cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in
pieces about twelve inches square. As it
swelled during cooking, it was punctured with
sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't
burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to
dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

³⁰This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi,
that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it
eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72,
and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

³¹Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold,
"it won't break -- is just like leather."

[P. 186 q] Chuckchansi

STRUCTURES

343

Sweat house.---The Chuckchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.¹⁰⁰ The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

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The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old and very young men did not use it. Some men slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratiu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chuckchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533]

There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

[524]

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

[533]

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342

Dwellings.---The Chuckchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't come through."¹⁰¹ About four horizontal withes

[184]

[171]

¹⁰⁰This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

¹⁰¹Kroeber, however, credits the Chuckchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

[P. 1956] Chuckchansi,

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."¹²³

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father (and presumably his male relatives) went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother (and relatives?) pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

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[591] When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

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[194] Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

¹²³The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

[P. 199c] Chukchansi

231 Peta---Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet (a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?) was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769
184 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said N.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (*sic*) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

[P. 200g] Chukchansi

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. (Such a general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.)

[184] The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

[621] When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

[P. 200 b] Chukchansi

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say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787]

Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man (an official messenger ?) would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[431]

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[270]

Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.¹³¹

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.¹³²

¹³¹p. 387.

¹³²Ibid., 385.

[P. 21] b] Chukchansi

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
 756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
 787 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit
 there, see something, know something, talk to
 herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount
 of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of
 taking it in the Fresno River region, according
 to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy":
 "If you make a noise he will start, be scared,
 look just like a dog that has swallowed
 strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will
 see what he is after." The affected person
 must not be given any food or water until he
 has regained a normal physical condition. The
 mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

[887] He had never heard of any ordinary person,
 especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young
 person would touch it; only very old people at-
 tempted to use it, and these were exclusively
 professional shamans already possessed of
 supernatural power. Such men might take it
 about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W.
 and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered
 jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to ob-
 tain clairvoyant power. When they ate it,
 they could recall long past events, see hidden
 objects, and see people and occurrences at a
 distance. For example, they would tell that a
 certain person was traveling on his way to
 their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank
 jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Pre-
 sumably, in accordance with surrounding prac-
 tice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then
 drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more
 power than he had before. M.W. said shamans,
 not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have
 visions. He never saw this [the vision or the
 practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like
 marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

[184] The information above corroborates
 Kroeber's statement that the northernmost
 Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but
 little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimson-
 weed ritual.¹⁵⁴

CP. 230 of Western Mono NS25

W
Y
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peda'w1: west by south
paña r1: east by north
huñwa r': wind, might be added after
any of the four above to indicate winds from
those directions

W
Y
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192

Seasons:
ta'wano: spring (approximately Feb-
ruary to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa wano: summer (May to September);
rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu'wano: fall (October and November);
acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to'wano: winter (December and January);
men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y
[184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were abo-
riginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the
interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by
valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the
mountain-dwelling peoples.

W
Y
1773
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Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are
in a rock pile called opo'do (Sun place) near
Aukland. There is one little rock which, if
stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come
out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating
of the moon or sun.

W
Y
825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite.
Some snake doctors, one of them was Puñilín,
told S.O. to say this every time he went out in
March or April: "You get out of my way. As
long as I live, all the year round, you keep
out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes
heard this and would not come near you or bite
you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously
poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his
grandparents' generation. They were not afraid
to allow them to crawl on them and bite them,
and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on
his tongue and be bitten. The black spider
(mu'ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and
only a "big doctor," to show what power he had,
would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him
very sick. An acquaintance of his, however,
would swallow them alive "just to show that it
didn't make him sick."

W
Y
1773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious
people who "killed on the spot." They were the
original owners of the sun, from whom it was
stolen.¹⁶⁵

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

W
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Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po'ginape,
Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

¹⁶⁵Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

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W
Y
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The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W
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The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)¹⁹⁷ secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W
Y
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No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču'šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao'šiko).

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Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

¹⁹⁷At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu'buhianuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

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Y
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Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but, an irregular addition.

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During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya 'kohovi'e roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie'mil:t. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi'lošaš, Michahai; u'narira gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye'1 (Yokuts word), previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but, most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

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- 727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

- 436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.
- 184 Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

- 576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"
- 805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *Pa'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

- 844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

- 846 Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

- 841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [17]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 ● [75]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstinence from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already 769
liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble.
Other valuables are burned with the images.

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many 532
remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts 184
tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing
until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of 431
a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief
mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for
the guests, wanders through the village crying.

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many
features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok,
whose *yataka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There
are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief
is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar
abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term
it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the
Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseno, and no doubt most
other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a
counterclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang
valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the
circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the
men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed
property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or
yuyahin, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visit- 783
ors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by wash-
ing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been
steeped.

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite
cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply
dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by
the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact
over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of
each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with
violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a
circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for 302
the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the
Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most
elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and 293
long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among
the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them,
both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her
from her place, and the couple dance before the double row.

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539] Drink this water for Tütsüt;
Drink this water for that Pamasüt;
Drink this water for that Yubahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

• 184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat differently.
276 The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medicine men. They were not performed by participants following an
756 anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlavash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
 756 hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to
 bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing.
 Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit.
 The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and
 purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent
 in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman,
 or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that
 for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead
 of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
 Do not touch me!
 You can do nothing with me.
 Lying with your belly full,
 Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
 Do not touch me!
 There is nothing you can do,
 You rattlesnake with your belly full,
 Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
 Do not touch me!
 What can you do to me?
 Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
 Stretched in the shade,
 You can do nothing;
 Do not touch me!
 Rattlesnake of the plains,
 You whose white eye
 The sun shines on,
 Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used
 by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venom-
 ous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the
 human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

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Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi,
 and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-
 Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal con-
 test of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one
 another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they
 seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash*
 songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude
 watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; aesthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumai*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

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The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

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Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

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517 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger
533 degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are
apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as
long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long
as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its
essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the
inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after
534 settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead.
[765] These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern
forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension,
or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a
separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mavu*,
or *maruvut*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while
the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index
finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes
in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral
cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

17/ The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all direc-
184 tions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them
181 with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture,
such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them
definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has
close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. To-
ward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable
threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying
net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan
and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what
little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts im-
press, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close
and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train.
It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links
stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the
civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of them-
selves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the
immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal
organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions
of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down
skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the
communal house, to mention only a few points.

17/ It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable indi-
181 viduality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwuinu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101
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On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California*, by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, *Tulamniu*. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

101 Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
 619 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
 184 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
Telumne of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah*
 of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the
Yowlumne of Kern River. These people were probably more
 abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were
 any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings
 and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful work-
 manship of their basketry. These river people were at home
 beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which
 towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among
 whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie
 and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They
 lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. Dur-
 ing the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains
 for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with
 some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driv-
 ing jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
 [484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old
 age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the
 place where they were born.

101 These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
 181 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
 184 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
 619 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river
 tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-
 go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
 [146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened
 with flesh than were the other tribes.

101 The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
 175 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
 619 *Nutunutu* subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water
[262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river
[285] tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ-
[281] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used
rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes.
They wandered about considerably, having few permanent vil-
lage sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They
blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers,
who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians
as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following
description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about
137 the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the
summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan
color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes
had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the
lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green
tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were
almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it.
If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes
keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them with-
out seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble
weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt
and run, or before you saw it.

361 "The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were
[343] close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules
[342] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a
sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed
within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

291 "In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves
281 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall
and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women
wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made
these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on.
The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same
color as rabbit skin.

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akera, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tule around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] [522] [48]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 • [61] [618]

101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
 184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains
 people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joa-
 quin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the
 tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
 226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
 [361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon
 the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was
 carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a
 distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren
 plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and
 transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice
 among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit
 drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope
 skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
 [184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed
 of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the
 Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were
 many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
 [224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There
 was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might
 have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish
 first came with horses and when the American explorers and
 [68] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-
 101 thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give
 the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This
 account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the
 plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains
 of the middle west:

[133] "December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
 ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks,
 principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which
 together make the *Mariposas* River.

[487] "Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
 trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses,
 apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we
 heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
 609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
 648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range
 of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
 648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the
 Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country,
 and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived
 and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
 262 tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the
 mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné*, *Mokelumné*, and *Aurumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.



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Yokuts bead money and three types of measurement used by various Yokuts tribes to denote one Chok, or unit of money. At the left is shown the measurement extending around the hand. At the center is the measurement extending from wrist to fingertip. At the right is the measurement around the hand forward of the thumb. The Indian woman at the left is wearing strings of bead money around her neck and in her hair.

Between the Wukchumne, *Pahdewishi* and *Kaweah*, the *Chok*, or unit of measurement of bead money—in other words, the Yokuts dollar—was the distance around the hand, measuring just outside of the thumb. Among the *Telumac* (Tay'-lumne), distant only twenty miles from the Wukchumne, it was the distance from the tip of the longest finger to the first wrinkle in the wrist. Incidentally, these two distances are almost equal. Some of the Yokuts tribes measured the *chok* around the rim of the hand. Ichow explained that in such cases the hand was placed flat on the ground and the beads measured around the hand from the last joint of the thumb to the last joint of the little finger.

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for anyone in the tribe. This type of structure brings home to one more forcibly than any phase of their culture the fact that the primitive Yokuts were all city dwellers. Country yokels were probably unknown among them. 342

The *Yowlumne* of lower Kern River, as well as the other tribes to the east of the tule lakes, built structures somewhat like that described above, but much shorter, and kept each family separated by partitions. [184]

One of the most interesting descriptions I have ever received of this *Yowlumne* house was given in 1943 by the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of the City of Bakersfield. Here it is:

"When we first came here [Bakersfield in 1863] the Indians were living mostly in brush shelters, four posts with poles across them and brush piled on top. There were one or two tule houses. They were not round and not square, but were sort of oval shaped; about ten feet wide and fifteen feet long with a small door in the middle of one side. They had round ends. They had two posts inside, and a short ridge-pole. I never paid much attention to them, but I believe they had poles leaned against this ridge pole. The tules were stood on end around this pole framework. I don't think the tules were made into mats. I think they were stood around the framework loose. Maybe they were tied down to the pole framework.

"The ridge of the house was not closed tight. There was an opening in the ridge in the form of a slot about eight inches wide and about six feet long.

"I was in these tule houses a number of times, but I remember very little about them. I do remember that there were strings of acorns and dried fish hanging from the pole framework. There were also baskets and bags of all kinds of Indian things on the ground inside. Everything was so smoked up inside that you couldn't tell what most of it was."

The *Yowlumne* of Kern River, the *Wechikit* of Kings River and probably the *Apaichi* north of Kings River built a small tule house of an oblong shape. The ends were rounded, but almost vertical. A short ridge pole was erected on two upright croched poles. Poles were leaned against this ridge. This left not the wedge-shaped house, but a rounded affair, probably much like the one described above by Thomas A. Baker.

There was only one door. In some instances there was no ridge pole. The poles were then bent all the way over and

"Sides were chosen and one person selected from each side to roll the disc. These two persons stood about twenty or thirty yards apart and at each end of the game court. They rolled the disc back and forth between them. 526

"The game was to throw a pole through the disc as it rolled by. For each pole thrown through the disc two points were awarded to the side having the lucky, or accurate player.

"If the pole passed only partly through and knocked the disc over, it counted only one point. The players lined up on each side of the course where the disc was rolled. They laughed and yelled and made a great deal of noise at this game and did all they could to rattle the opposing players when they were about to throw a pole.

"This was a great deal more exciting game than you might think just from reading about it. When the disc was rolled across the court as many as thirty or forty poles would go flying through the air and the biggest problem in the game was to dodge the poles that came from the other side.

"They kept the score by calling it aloud much as we keep score in a game of horseshoes."

Like many other Yokuts games, the arrow game varied slightly from tribe to tribe. The *Wukchumne* on the Kaweah River played the game with wooden pointed arrows and a disc similar to that described by Mayfield for the pole and hoop game, but somewhat smaller. They described the disc as being about a foot in diameter and having a hole in the center approximately two inches in diameter. This disc was rolled back and forth between two men, one at each end of the gaming court. The players lined up on opposite sides and shot arrows at it. [84] ●

The disc was rolled six times, one point being awarded for each hit, a hit consisting of striking the disc with the arrow. The contestants who obtained the most hits in the six rolls won the game. The *Yowlumne* called the game *Taw-poi'-un* and the hoop *Taw'-poi*. The game court was called *In*. The scorekeeper was called *Trih-pa'-itch*.

Mayfield described a similar game as played by the *Choinimne*. This one used instead of the willow-bark disc a perforated stone about the size and shape of an ordinary doughnut. His account of this game follows:

"For another game a small perforated stone was rolled instead of the disc. This stone was about three or four inches in

CHAPTER XII

STORIES AND CEREMONIES

THE BOYS' INITIATION CEREMONY

881 Undoubtedly one of the most interesting customs of the Yokuts Indians had to do with their initiation of the young men into the tribe. Among small tribes it is probable that this was not held at regular intervals, but was performed at any time when a young man was considered to be of an age mature enough to take up the full duties of citizenship. In larger tribes it appears that in order to reduce the number of times that the initiation ceremony would have to be performed during the year, it was held only once and at a regular season. At that time several young men would be initiated.

184 Old Yokuts men state that some tribes required the initiate to kill a deer single handed before he would be taken into the tribe. An old *Wukchumne* stated that his people often required the boy to break the ice and bathe in the Kaweah river before he would be admitted. This test is also reported from the *Yowlumne*. These are the only reported requirements which involve a test of courage or hunting ability.

881 Among scientists the initiation performance among the southern Yokuts was known as the *Toalache*, or *Jimson Weed*
276 *Ceremony*. The plant used was the *Datura Meteloide*. The southern Yokuts called this plant *Tani*, and the ceremony *Tani-yu'-wish*. The ceremony was centered about the drinking of a tea made from the root of the Jimson weed and the period of intoxication which followed, during which the unwritten work of the tribe was imparted to the new members.

The Jimson weed will be readily recognized by natives of the San Joaquin as a large, low, bushy bluish-green plant which at the proper season of the year produces a large white bell-, or trumpet-shaped flower. This flower is about six inches in length and three inches across at the opening. It is possessed of an objectionable odor. The root when reduced to a tea is a strong narcotic.

For several days before the drinking of this tea the young men refrained from eating any solid food. Acorn soup or other liquids were the only things partaken of during this week of

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their
304 nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *trow-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo.
[302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
159 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
386

438 Some of the Indian doctors used the *sihmik* to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with *sihmik* and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the *Wukchumne* baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
372 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbiach Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wüchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wüchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.

The Patwisha and Wüchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.⁷ A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

⁷ Tel'in na ki'wic nim ki'am si'ei, doctoring I pot my now done.

⁸ Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 56d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

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323Y
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[412]Y
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[285]Y ●
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323 charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

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323 Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102e) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

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323 To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98b) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

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323 Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Mono US25

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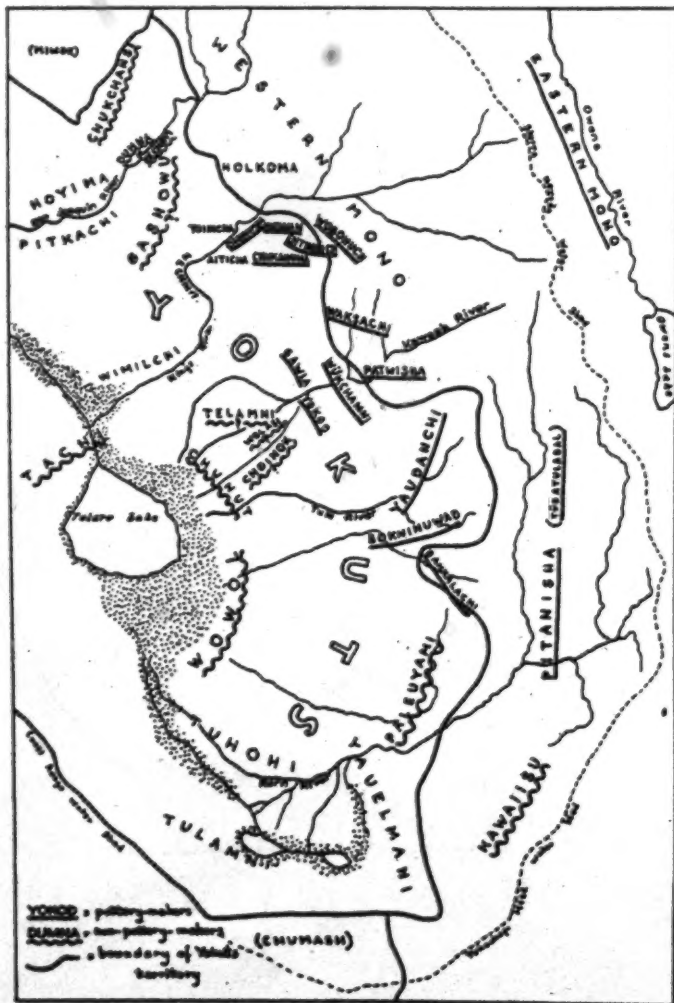


Fig. 2. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Map NS25

1929]

Gayton: Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making

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DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers"¹⁰ but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenek as late intrusions.¹¹ These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

¹⁰ As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

¹¹ Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55-56, 1926.

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361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbiach site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Teitatu, a Waksachi site in Eahom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.⁷ My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

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184 In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

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⁷ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 497.

did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.¹²

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

¹² WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

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184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little difference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182
619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn using tribe. In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitality in connection with religious ceremonies.

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616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

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221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was there-upon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific
769 coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the
551 custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a
dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of
184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally
769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River
551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every per-
son ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary
use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the
death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the
first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same
[553] time. New names were not usual, children being named generally
after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the
names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case
of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names be-
cause her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost
both his names through the death of others was called "no name,"
kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if neces-
sary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called
simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address.
Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of
another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one
name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names
had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects,
actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from
Tule River follows:—

Men:

- 551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.
Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name
of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.
Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunam.
Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.
Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.
Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.
Djemshak.
Tukchuchu.

PREFACE

- 114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.¹
- 128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, *Indian Myths of South Central California*, and F. F. Latta, *California Indian Folklore*; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, *Western Mono Myths*. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's *Pomo Myths* and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's *Tubatulabal Myths and Tales*. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.
- 114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Shoshonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.
- 121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.
- 1 [197] [184] [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED - ANALYST]
May 31, 1937
- 121 ¹Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

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[p. viii is blank]

[p. 14-A]

171 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestion-
 538 ably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono,
 yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo,
 Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein
 his rôle is often at least daring if not unde-
 featedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
 254 the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill
 or mountain country. How far he was popular with
 Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi,
 Telamni, Chumut, Wowol) is a question, for the
 mythology recorded from these groups is hope-
 lessly incomplete. With these people it is
 possible that Coyote or some other held a more
 elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or
 in part by Western Mono, Tubatulabal, Miwok, and
 Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and
Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister,
Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at ahinny]
with the Cannibal, Coyote Steals a Cougar's Child,
and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that
 Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a
 thunderbird), and is in some way associated with
 dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it
 is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be
 lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok,
 although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's
 collections have augmented the meager group of
 Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us,
 these tales seem more humorous than consequential,
 it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep
 enough to get them. However, they do not bulk
 large in recorded collections from Northfork
 Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative
 absence from the Central California area may be
 real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear
and Deer.

Yokuts and Tubatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear,
 their local and far-fetched variant of Old
Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substi-
 tuted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts
 mythology to have a named character, that I sus-
 pect the name Mikiti to be some variant or di-
 minutive of limik (falcon), although in this
 contention Newman cannot offer support with any
 positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by
 Newman's collection, are closely related to those
 of the Tubatulabal. This is expectable. But
 whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as mani-
 fested in such specific details as rock-encased
condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aborigi-
 nal or the result of later reservation contacts
 cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in
 Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be
 expectable from intertribal relationship of the
 two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so
 little is known of aboriginal culture and condi-
 tions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that
 what would be expectable is largely conjecture.